

ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, ROSTRUM
Antietam National Cemetery
Shepherdstown Pike (State Route 34)
Sharpsburg
Washington County
Maryland

HABS MD-936-D
MD-936-D

PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240-0001

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
ANTIETAM NATIONAL CEMETERY, ROSTRUM

HABS No. MD-936-D

Location:	Shepherdstown Pike (State Route 34), Sharpsburg vicinity, Washington County, Maryland
Date of Construction:	1879
Builder:	Jonathan Late, Contractor
Original Owner:	U.S. War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General (1879-1933)
Present Owner:	U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service (1933 – present)
Present Use:	Rostrum, speaker's platform
Significance:	Located within the gates of Antietam National Cemetery, this red brick rostrum functioned as a site of ceremony, commemoration, and remembrance for the Union soldiers buried on the grounds. Developed shortly after the Civil War, the national cemetery sought to provide an appropriate final resting place for those Union soldiers who gave their lives during the war. The rostrum served as a raised stage for public speakers who addressed gathered crowds on special events such as Decoration Day. The design comes from a standard plan developed by Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs for the national cemetery system.
Historian:	Susan C. Hall
Project Information:	Documentation of the Antietam National Cemetery Rostrum was undertaken by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), within the Heritage Documentation Programs (HDP) of the National Park Service (Catherine C. Lavoie, Chief, HABS; Richard O'Connor, Chief, HDP) during the summer of 2009. This effort was made possible through the Sally Kress Tompkins Fellowship, an award established by HABS and the Society of Architectural Historians to recognize and encourage the historical research of emerging scholars. Susan C. Hall (University of California, Riverside), 2009 Sally Kress Tompkins Fellow, produced historical reports focusing on several War Department

era structures at Antietam National Battlefield and Antietam National Cemetery. Assistance was provided by many staff members at Antietam National Battlefield, particularly Jane Custer (Chief, Cultural Resources) and Keven Walker (Cultural Resource Specialist). Lisa P. Davidson, HABS historian and Chair of the Sally Kress Tompkins Fellowship committee, served as project leader. Large-format photography was undertaken by HABS photographer Renee Bieretz.

I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History:

1. Date of Erection: 1879
2. Architect: Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs
3. Original Owner: War Department, 1879 – 1933
4. Subsequent Owner: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1933 – present
5. Contractor: Jonathan Late
6. Original Plans and Construction: The rostrum was built from a standard plan developed by the War Department for the National Cemetery System under Army Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs in November 1878.¹ A similar rostrum can be found at the Soldier's Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Blueprint drawings and the written contract with Late indicate the primary plans were maintained throughout the planning and construction process.² Although, it should be noted that Late did suggest and obtained permission to use native stone for the foundation of the rostrum

¹ M. Meigs, "Plan for the Rostrum for National Military Cemeteries" (November 1878), Box 6, Entry 576 – General Correspondence and Reports Relation to National and Post Cemeteries, 1865-90, Record Group 92 – Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives I – Washington, D.C. (hereafter Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I).

Note: It should be noted that different set of files (entries) from Record Group 92 are retrievable from the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and College Park, MD. In the Downtown branch (NARA I), they prefer that researchers request files using the Record Group, Entry number, and (at times) file number. For Entry 89, specific box numbers are not generally requested by the researcher but rather filled in by the staff members on duty based on the file number entered. Instead, file numbers are pulled based on indexes from Entry 84. Entry 576 does have box numbers available if necessary. In the College Park branch (NARA II), they prefer that researchers request files using the Record Group, Box number, and (at times) Entry number. Those files in Entry 1891, RG 92 do require box numbers. Record Group 79, on the other hand, requires box numbers and entry numbers.

² "Contract, between Captain A.F. Rockwell, A.Q.M. and Jonathan Late for Rostrum at Antietam National Cemetery" (8 February 1879), Box 6, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

rather than the red brick as the standard plan indicated.³ Construction began in late February 1879 and was completed in time to be used for Decoration Day on May 30, 1879.⁴

7. Alterations and additions: Photographic and written documentation indicate that at some later date, a cement floor was added to the platform of the rostrum. The park's 1965 Historic Structures Report suggests that the cement addition was "relatively new."⁵ However, photographic evidence cannot guarantee a grass surface any later than 1935, and by 1938, Memorial Day photographs show a hard surface on the platform.⁶ Prior to the rostrum's restoration in 2008, the platform was covered in red brick.⁷ With the restoration, the platform surface was "returned" to grass. A 1906 report on the Rostrum indicates that a new "roof" was put on in 1902 but had not been painted until July 1904.⁸ It also appears that by 1938, New Deal-funded work had removed the existing pergola and simplified its design. Later, the pergola was painted a dark or "natural" color.⁹ In 2008, the beams were remade through a company in Washington State and returned to fit the original specifications.

³ "Contract;" Letter, M. Meigs to Capt. J.M. Marshall (28 March 1879). Letter, C.M. Clark to Capt. A.F. Rockwell (27 March 1879). Files available in Box 6, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

⁴ "Decoration Day," *The Herald and Torch*, 4 June 1879. The article text is hand copied and located in the Antietam Library cemetery files. File Folder – Report National Cemetery Lodge, Box – Antietam National Cemetery, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

⁵ Archie W. Franzen, "Historic Structures Report – Part I – Architectural Data Section on the Rostrum, Antietam National Battlefield" (October 1965), 5. Accessed from File Folder: Historic Structures Report on the Rostrum, Box: Antietam National Cemetery, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

⁶ Keven Walker, Binder: Rostrum - Restoration, 2007 "Project Notes & Work Record," National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, MD. Photographs, "Speakers at Memorial Day Exercises, May 30. National Cemetery Rostrum. 1938, *Photographs of Battlefield* notebook, WPA photograph collection, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

⁷ Keven Walker, Binder: Rostrum - Restoration, 2007 "Project Notes & Work Record," National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, MD. A Construction Project signed 1 February 1965 suggests that the masonry deck should be replaced at a cost of \$1,000. See also: File Folder—Rostrum-Nat'l Cemetery," Cultural Resources Department, Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, MD

⁸ Letter, J.V. Davis to the Depot Quartermaster, Washington, DC (4 July 1906), File No. 213318, Entry 89—General Correspondence, 1890-1914, Antietam (hereafter Entry 89), RG 92, NARA I.

⁹ Photograph, "Pruning and removing dead trees affected with 'Maple Wilt' by the Forestry Crew under Foreman Baker and the CCC camp from Gettysburg," *Administrative Work* notebook, WPA photograph collection, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD. Photograph, "1967 Rostrum," Box - *National Cemetery*, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

B. Historical Context:

Introduction – Establishing the Antietam National Cemetery

When the Rostrum was completed at Antietam National Cemetery in 1879, it indicated the importance placed upon honoring and commemorating the Civil War dead. As the first structure constructed by the War Department since its takeover of the cemetery in 1877, the Rostrum emphasized the Federal Government's involvement in controlling the cemetery's message. The Rostrum also reflected the participation of Sharpsburg's local community in influencing Civil War memory and its message.

From 1861 to 1865, the Union and Confederacy fought over the very issue of whether or not the nation would remain united or divided, preserved or dissolved. The Battle of Antietam is recognized as a key strategic conflict in the War's outcome. It occurred on September 17, 1862, marking the culminating engagement in Robert E. Lee's Maryland Campaign and his first invasion of Union territory. On the 18th, General George B. McClellan failed to attack Lee's wounded army and instead, allowed the Confederate troops to retreat across the Potomac River under the cover of night. As Lee returned to Virginia, he left behind enormous numbers of dead, wounded, and missing. Both Union and Confederate armies experienced unspeakable suffering at the Battle of Antietam. It was and is the single bloodiest day in American history, leading to more than 23,000 Union and Confederate casualties. This number represents more casualties than all of those from the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Mexican War, and Spanish American War combined.¹⁰

McClellan's failure to halt Lee's retreating army led to a military draw at Antietam and President Lincoln's decision to remove McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac. However, the battle did serve as an important strategic victory for the North. Lincoln used it as a catalyst to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, stating that all slaves held in rebelling states were to be freed on January 1, 1863. He hoped that such an issuance would provide the Union with more foreign support and lead to a strategic blow against the Confederacy, its workforce, and food supply. As a result, the bloody fields of Sharpsburg became a strategic landscape, utilized for a larger, national cause set on preserving the Union *and* ending slavery.

While the battle was used to introduce a new strategic vision in Washington D.C., the soldiers who lay dead on the fields of Antietam were the physical reminders of the horrors of war. The means by which the Union army dealt with the Antietam dead left much to be desired, and it was not long before the local residents pushed for the removal of the buried dead from their farm land.¹¹ On a much larger scale, others pushed for the proper burial of all the Civil War dead. While concerned for the local farmers, these advocates were also concerned with properly commemorating the sacrifice and heroism of the fallen soldiers. Walt Whitman, an avid supporter of establishing a national cemetery system explained that the federal government had

¹⁰ James McPherson, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3.

¹¹ Robinson & Associates, Inc., *Antietam National Cemetery Lodge: Physical History and Condition Assessment, Final Submission* (Washington, D.C.: architrave p.c. architects, 5 March 2003), 20.

“a stewardship, the account of which must be rendered to the spirit of humanity and Christian patriotism, to the friends of republican liberty and of human freedom and progress throughout the world, to the free people of the North, whose dearest sons have been sacrificed.”¹² It was the *obligation* of the living to properly inter the dead, because they had paid the ultimate sacrifice in the name of citizenship and duty.¹³

In 1864, State Senator Lewis P. Firey introduced a resolution to the Maryland Senate for the formation of a joint committee which would purchase a portion of the Antietam Battlefield for the purpose of establishing a State and National cemetery. He wanted to provide the dead with “a decent burial” so that their “memories [could] be embalmed in some suitable memorial.”¹⁴ A year later, four Marylanders and “one Trustee from each of the other States” who lost soldiers at the battle were appointed to the Board of the cemetery.¹⁵ By an act of the Maryland State Legislature, the Trustees took care of and managed the grounds using funds from State appropriations. Removal and proper re-interment of the remains began immediately. The Trustees also saw it fit to establish carriage ways and properly arrange the cemetery in order to “adapt the ground to the uses for which it has been purchased and set apart.” In addition, they thought it appropriate to “erect buildings”—more specifically the Keeper’s Lodge—to achieve its intended goals.¹⁶ While under construction, the Trustees reported that “the building has been put up in the best manner, and it is believed that it will prove an ornament to the Cemetery, and give general satisfaction.”¹⁷ The cemetery’s “natural” landscape and architectural ornamentation worked together to create the Trustees’ envisaged environment.

Firey’s desire to establish a National Cemetery and a Board of Trustees to carry out the process, however, raised a particularly important question. Who, specifically, would be laid to rest in this pleasing cemetery environment? Would the Confederate dead be interred, properly buried, and honored in the cemetery, as well? Would their inclusion in the cemetery detract from the larger purpose of the cemetery as a place to honor those who had died fighting for and protecting the Union? That the question was raised at all is an important one and reflective of Antietam’s distinct situation as a national cemetery. Out of 80 national cemeteries in existence

¹² Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 229.

¹³ Faust, 211, 218.

¹⁴ Board of Trustees of Antietam National Cemetery, *History of Antietam National Cemetery* (Baltimore, Maryland; J.W. Woods, 1869), 7.

¹⁵ Charles W. Snell and Sharon A. Brown, *Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery: an Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service, 1986), 2-3.

¹⁶ “Proceedings of the Trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery, at their meeting held in Washington City, December 8th, 1867,” (Hagerstown, Md: 1867), 11, Box 5, Entry 576, RG 92. The Executive Committee’s report from December 8, 1867, states that “at the meeting before mentioned, the chairman was authorized to advertise in the Baltimore American for designs and proposals for a Lodge House, to be erected in the Cemetery.”

¹⁷ “Proceedings of the Trustees,” 12.

by 1880, Antietam was only one of two established and run by a state.¹⁸ According to an article in the *Washington Chronicle* dated December 9, 1867, the Board of Trustees discussed

the propriety of designating a certain portion of the cemetery for the interment of the rebels who lost their lives in the series of engagements in that section. After a lengthy discussion it was decided to set apart a portion of the enclosure for this purpose, as a section of the Maryland law incorporating the cemetery provided that this should be done.¹⁹

The Trustees argued that just as many Maryland soldiers fell in the Maryland Campaign fighting for the Confederacy as they did for the Union. They had a “right to demand that a separate part of the Cemetery shall be appropriated to that class and that the Board shall take the same steps towards accomplishing this part of their trust as they have done to fulfill that relating to the Union soldiers.”²⁰ After much controversy and debate, it was decided that Confederate soldiers would *not* be buried at the Antietam Cemetery. Instead, they were removed to cemeteries in Hagerstown, Frederick, and Shepherdstown.²¹ The removal of Confederate dead from the cemetery reiterated the ultimate goal of the Trustees: to establish a “national” burial site meant to commemorate those soldiers who had fought and died to *preserve* the nation, not dissolve it.

While the War Department had been involved in the development and maintenance of the Antietam National Cemetery, it was not the primary caretaker and manager of the site until 1877. Board President G.L. Crammner’s Address on December 16, 1874 was an indicator of the financial challenges faced by the Trustees before they transferred the cemetery to the War Department. He brought to the attention of the Board “the necessity of taking some action to meet the deficiency in funds to enable the board to meet its obligations and the contingent expenses which necessarily arise.”²² These obligations were not met, however, and the cemetery was officially transferred to the War Department on March 2, 1877.²³ By this point in time, the cemetery was already fairly established and in some respects, the War Department needed to change little to maintain the property as it saw fit. However, its incorporation into the national cemetery system did mark a number of important changes for the site.

¹⁸ Snell, 4.

¹⁹ Newspaper clipping, no title, *Washington Chronicle*, 9 December 1867). Clipping found in Box 6, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I. This statement in the newspaper was supported by the Cemetery’s Trustee meeting, where R.E. Fenton stated that “the remains of the soldiers of the Confederate Army to be buried in a part of the grounds, separate from those of the Union Army.” “Proceedings of the Trustees,” 5.

²⁰ “Proceedings of the Trustees,” 7.

²¹ National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, “Antietam National Cemetery,” available from <http://www.nps.gov/anti/historyculture/antietam-national-cemetery.htm>; Internet; accessed 22 August 2009.

²² “Proceedings: Antietam National Cemetery, December 16 1874,” 7. Available from Box 6, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

²³ Snell, 25.

In 1861, the War Department had issued General Order 75, establishing a system to properly and permanently bury those Union soldiers who died in the Civil War. Between 1862 and 1863, thirteen national cemeteries were created within short proximity to major battlefields such as Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Beaufort, North Carolina. By the end of the Civil War, however, only a small portion of the dead were properly buried and accounted for in national cemeteries. Public outcries led to an increased effort to identify and rebury the Union dead. During the era of Reconstruction, the War Department—under the guidance of the Office of the Quartermaster General—took extensive measures to establish a well-run infrastructure that reasserted Federal authority. When Antietam National Cemetery transferred to the War Department in 1877, it officially became a part of this federal system rather than a state-run site supported by the Federal Government.

By incorporating Antietam into a well-run system, the War Department intended to achieve a number of goals. First, it planned to bring the Federal government's bureaucratic and disciplined approach to the maintenance and use of the Antietam Cemetery. Secondly, the War Department wanted to use the Antietam Cemetery as a venue from which to influence memories of the Civil War and those who fought in it. More specifically, the War Department brought Antietam into a cemetery system that promoted national patriotism and reiterated the strength of the nation.²⁴

Placing the Rostrum in the Cemetery Landscape

Constructed in 1879, shortly after the War Department's takeover, the cemetery Rostrum was the first structure built on cemetery grounds under the guidance of the Quartermaster General. It was built to replace the "stand" that had been erected in the cemetery by the Board of Trustees in 1874.²⁵ At the most basic level, the Rostrum functioned as a raised platform for public speeches—particularly those conducted on Decoration Day each May and the battle's anniversary on September 17th. Despite the simplicity of the structure, the Rostrum was much more than an elevated platform. It was both reflective of and witness to the changes that the War Department implemented on the Antietam National Cemetery landscape.

The Rostrum's location reemphasized the cemetery's intended purpose as a shrine to the dead and pilgrimage site for the living. Located in the northeast corner of the cemetery, the symmetrical structure faced north and south, physically and visually connecting those buried in the cemetery with the bloody battlefield to the north. On most occasions, the spectators looked out past the cemetery walls to the battlefield beyond. While the words of the speakers resonated from the platform, the public was reminded of the heroism, suffering, and sacrifice that had occurred. Those who spoke from the Rostrum looked south, not only toward the spectators but the Union graves, as well. In doing so, their words spoke to the living but also honored the dead.

²⁴ Catherine Zipf, "Marking Union Victory in the South: the Construction of the National Cemetery System" in *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson eds. (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 27-45.

²⁵ "Proceedings: Antietam National Cemetery, December 16, 1874," 4.

Although the gently rolling hills of Sharpsburg, Maryland provided a beautiful backdrop to the Rostrum, the structure itself was not unique. The Antietam Rostrum was one of several built from the “Plan for Rostrum for National Military Cemeteries,” Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs’s 1878 standard plan.²⁶ The same structure was found at the Soldiers’ Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Stones River, Tennessee; and Vicksburg, Mississippi. Meigs was a professional soldier whose talents led him to a career in engineering. When the Confederacy declared war on the Union in 1861, Meigs’ organizational and logistical skills were put to use as Quartermaster General. During the Civil War Meigs was charged with providing all the necessary supplies to the Union army. His post-war duties included establishing and maintaining the national cemetery system by identifying dead Union soldiers and relocating them to national cemeteries. He provided supplies for the search, helped hire superintendents, and also designed the architectural structures found in the cemeteries.²⁷ The Rostrum design promoted the War Department’s efforts to systematically and efficiently run the cemetery system under its well-ordered bureaucratic organization.

Meigs’ most prominent standard-plan cemetery structure, a French Second-Empire-inspired Keeper’s Lodge, is noticeably absent in the Antietam Cemetery. His Lodge was considered modern in design. The brick and wood Rostrum, however, was more classically inspired. Its twelve square columns and pergola were based loosely on Greek and Roman precedents. Greenery planted to grow up the columns and on the pergola enhanced the classical simplicity of the structure. Together, the Rostrum and the greenery promoted the late nineteenth century ideal of nature and architecture. In 1879 *The Herald and Torch* reported that “grape vines, ivy vines and canadensia have been planted around the rostrum, and ere long this structure will be covered with these vines, not only adding beauty but an agreeable shade on decoration occasions.”²⁸ Maintaining greenery on the Rostrum was a vital part of the structure’s intended appearance. In 1884, W.W. Forth wrote to Lieutenant Colonel William D. Whipple that “the rostrum is in good condition and the vines cultivated for its adornment are tastefully arranged and present an attractive appearance.”²⁹ Quarterly Reports consistently reported the Rostrum had “neatly trimmed vines and shrubs growing around walls or on columns.”³⁰

²⁶ Meigs, “Plan for Rostrum.”

²⁷ Zipf, 31.

²⁸ “Sharpsburg Items,” *The Herald and Torch*, 16 July 1879. The article text is hand copied and located in the Antietam Library cemetery files. File Folder – Report National Cemetery Lodge, Box – Antietam National Cemetery, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

²⁹ Report, W.W. Forth [sp] to Lieutenant Colonel William D. Whipple (19 May 1884), Box 5, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

³⁰ Most of the Quarterly Reports from the end of the War Department era can be found in Box 56 of Entry 1891, Office of the Quartermaster General, General Correspondence, Geographic File 1922-1935 (hereafter entry 1891), RG 92, NARA II under the title “Quarterly Report of the Antietam (Sharpsburg, MD) National Cemetery.” In 1905, the Cemetery asked permission to spend \$2.00 to purchase roses and other plants to “beautify the rostrum,” because it was currently bare, having been removed when the pergola beams were replaced. Report, name unknown, Captain

Although the structure was designed by the Federal Government, it was built by Washington County resident Jonathan Late. Before construction commenced, Captain J.M. Marshall, the Engineer, was told by Meigs that “you will see that these Rostrums are constructed in strict conformity with the terms of the agreements and the work to be done under the supervision of an Engineer who will be directed to report to you for this duty.”³¹ Despite these stern orders, Late suggested the use of local quarried stone be used for the foundation of the Rostrum rather than brick. Because the foundation was not visible above ground level, the Office of the Quartermaster General approved Late’s proposal.³²

Late completed the Rostrum in time to be used for Decoration Day on the 30th of May, 1879. The *Herald and Torch* described the completed structure as “grand and imposing,” suggesting that it would “add greatly to the appearance as well as the convenience of the cemetery.”³³ The contractor’s influence on the construction of the Rostrum was minor, particularly when not visible to the public’s eye. However, it did underscore the presence and participation of local residents in the construction of the national cemetery site. Local residents not only played a role in the literal construction of the cemetery but were also visible participants in how and why the Rostrum was utilized.

Utilizing the Rostrum to Commemorate and Influence

It was the relationship between local Maryland residents and the Federal Government that was best reflected in the commemorative events centered at the Rostrum. From the platform of the structure, national leaders and politicians came together with local citizens to memorialize the Civil War, honor the dead, and promote national patriotism. An examination of the individuals and groups who used the rostrum for speeches and ceremonies demonstrates the important role of public commemoration around the turn of the century. It also indicates the variety of people who participated and the messages they intended to convey.

The Rostrum at Antietam National Cemetery was most notably used on two particular occasions: September 17th, the anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, and Decoration Day (now Memorial Day). Battle anniversaries provided an opportunity to place the Battle of Antietam within a larger framework—contextualizing the significance of the conflict within the Civil War. Decoration Day, on the other hand, helped put the individual Civil War soldier within a broader context. Established informally during the Civil War, Decoration Day was an occasion when the

& Quartermaster of Depot (14 February 1905), 3, File No. 213318, Entry 89, RG 92, NARA I; Report, D.H. Rhodes, Landscape Gardener, National Cemeteries to Quartermaster General (11 January 1905), 5, File No. 213318, Entry 89, RG 92, NARA I.

³¹ Letter, M. Meigs to Captain J.M. Marshall (24 February 1879), Box 6, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

³² Letter, Montgomery C. Meigs to Captain J.M. Marshall (28 March 1879), Box 6, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

³³ “Antietam National Cemetery,” *The Herald and Torch*, 23 April 1897. The article text is hand copied and located in the Antietam Library cemetery files. File Folder – Report National Cemetery Lodge, Box – Antietam National Cemetery, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

living came together to mourn and remember the dead. According to historian David Blight, “death on such a scale demanded meaning.” With unfathomable losses, cemeteries became sites where the living confronted death and comforted themselves by bringing flowers and creating makeshift monuments. Decoration Day functioned as a day of remembrance in the North, where Union veterans conducted ceremonies and decorated the graves of their fallen comrades—the *Union* dead.³⁴ By honoring the personal sacrifice of citizen soldiers for the triumph of the Union, Decoration Day fit well within the War Department’s efforts to convey strong federal authority. Together, these two annual events made use of the Rostrum to influence public memory of the Civil War and its dead.

The ceremonial orderliness of Antietam’s Decoration Day often culminated at the cemetery Rostrum. The *Herald and Torch* described the Rostrum’s first Decoration Day on May 30, 1879 as clear and bright. A procession began in the Public Square of Sharpsburg and proceeded to the cemetery. General Bragg, the Ceremony’s orator, and invited guests “took their place on the rostrum while the infantry stacked their arms in front.” Bragg, a former General in the Union Army, “graphically described the battle of Antietam, having himself participated in the engagement.”³⁵ Bragg’s speech was the first among many that sought to use the cemetery landscape to remember and commemorate Antietam and the Civil War.

Although the Rostrum became a central element in this process, the orators who spoke from the platform presented a muddled message of *who* specifically was to be remembered and *why*. During the Civil War, Maryland’s residents had fought for both the Union and Confederacy. Although Decoration Day was established to honor the Union dead, Antietam’s location within a former border state complicated these tributes to the dead. Who was remembered and why from the platform of the Rostrum was also complicated by the societal, political, and economic anxieties of the present.

While using the commemoration and memorialization of the Civil War dead as a backdrop, those who spoke at the Rostrum often used it to address their concerns with the current state of the nation. Scholar Worth Robert Miller explains that during the Gilded Age, politics was a national obsession, and “partisanship was open and vigorous because common people believed the issues were important and political parties represented divergent viewpoints.”³⁶ In an age of patronage and strong party politics, Republicans and Democrats alike used the Civil War past as a means of reaching out to their constituents.

The first Battle Anniversary to make use of the new Rostrum was the September 17, 1880 ceremony that unveiled “Old Simon,” the Cemetery’s long awaited monument to the “Common Soldier.” Historian Susan Trail states that “about 15,000 were present for the ceremony, approximately the same number that had attended the national cemetery dedication thirteen years

³⁴ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: the Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 65-71.

³⁵ “Decoration Day,” *The Herald and Torch*, 4 June 1897.

³⁶ Worth Robert Miller, “The Lost World of Gilded Age Politics,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, no. 1 (January 2002): 49.

earlier.”³⁷ Although all eyes were on the new monument, ceremony officials, including G.A.R. (Grand Army of the Republic) dignitaries, cemetery trustees, and Maryland congressmen sat on the Rostrum. From the platform, the officials looked out on the Union dead that surrounded the newly erected statue. Both orations and the statue itself strongly promoted the War Department’s message of Federal authority and control. Old Simon was a common *Union* sentry, not a generic Civil War soldier. With his U.S. belt buckle visible, the soldier—and the orators who praised him—celebrated the triumph of the North. Marriott Brosius, a Congressman from Pennsylvania, urged that sectional conflict be wiped away. However, the Congressman’s memories of the Civil War were not seen through rose tinted glasses. He praised the sacrifice of the Union soldier, but he had no “gushing sentiment of honor to those who died in the act of rebellion.”³⁸

In denouncing the act of rebellion, Brosius and his fellow Northern Republicans used the Rostrum as a podium to criticize Southern Democrats. With Reconstruction only several years in the past and sectional tensions still high, Republicans touted themselves as the keepers of prosperity, moralism, and most importantly, nationalism. On Decoration Day, hostility toward the Confederate dead reflected the current hostile environment between Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats. Congressman Brosius’s speech reiterated the necessity of federal authority. Anything less would not be tolerated, he explained, because “the republic can have no standard of law or morals that does not condemn as a crime the act of rebellion against her constituted authorities.”³⁹ A strong, central Federal Government was necessary to prevent such rebellions.⁴⁰

General George B. McClellan made his Decoration Day appearance at the Rostrum in 1885. McClellan, Union commander of the Army of the Potomac at the Battle of Antietam, addressed a large crowd from the platform of the Rostrum. It was McClellan’s first return to battlefield since 1862.⁴¹ While addressing the crowd, the former general faced the headstones of

³⁷ Susan W. Trail, “Remembering Antietam: Commemoration and Preservation of a Civil War Battlefield” (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 2005), 119.

³⁸ Trail, 120, 121.

³⁹ Trail, 120.

⁴⁰ Miller, 51.

⁴¹ The article listed the following important individuals in attendance, as well: “Judge Henry W. Hoffman was president, and introduced the orator. Among the gentlemen on the rostrum were Col. Douglas, Hon. Wm. T. Hamilton, E.W. Mealey, Capt. W. W. Walker, Buchanan Schley, George M. Stonebraker, Alexander Neill, Isaac Loewenstein, Wm. Kealhofer, John L. Mcatee, R.T. Semmer, George W. Harris, State Senator Lane, P.A. Witmer, Jacob Marker, Col. Wm. A. Morgam, and those who made up the McClellan Party.” “Antietam Battlefield Gen. McClellan’s Reception in Western Maryland and His Oration,” *Baltimore Sun*, 1 June 1885. See also “From the Peninsula to Antietam – Posthumous notes by General McClellan, -- with an introduction by General McClellan’s Literary Executor,” *Century Illustrated Magazine* 32, no. 1 (May 1886): 121. Despite focusing on McClellan’s Civil War career, it does make note of the former general’s return trip to Antietam in 1885 and includes an image of the Rostrum from which he addressed his audience.

the buried Union soldiers. However, unlike Congressman Brosius, McClellan honored both Union *and* Confederate soldiers who had died at the battle and in the war. Their deaths, he claimed, were the result of extremists on both sides.⁴² McClellan himself, who had run against Lincoln in the 1864 Presidential election, gave his opinion on the state of the federal government and its proper place in the post-Reconstruction society of 1885. His speech indicated that the Federal Government had gained too much power after the Civil War. According to the *Baltimore Sun*, McClellan gave “a graphic sketch of the greatness of this republic” and stated “a centralized government would create friction that would result in dismemberment...Let the general government keep within the restrictions of the constitution, and all will be well.”⁴³ McClellan’s speech and his affiliation with the Democratic Party, however, were unique at a Federally-controlled cemetery.

Leading military figures and politicians were not the only ones who came to the cemetery on Decoration Day and battle anniversaries. The politicians were supported by a number of veterans’ organizations who, for the most part, encouraged the expanded role of the Federal Government. Veteran reunions were generally organized by the Grand Army of the Republic, the largest Union veterans’ organization in the post-war period. Nationally, the G.A.R. was recognized as a strong ally of the Republican Party, because of their efforts to gain pension benefits for Civil War veterans. In the mid-1880s Sharpsburg established a local G.A.R. post and participated actively in the cemetery’s commemorative events.⁴⁴ Around the turn of the century, the G.A.R.’s presence was visible on the Rostrum during nearly every commemorative event. Other fraternal organizations and secret societies participated as well. The Odd Fellows, Masons, and Knights of Pythias were common participants and speakers. Many years, Sharpsburg’s Decoration Day ceremonies began at the Knight of Pythias Hall downtown and ended at the Rostrum.⁴⁵

The G.A.R. and other fraternal organizations used Decoration Day and the battle anniversaries to focus on honoring their members’ past military service. By honoring their service and sacrifice in the past, Civil War veterans also symbolized and encouraged the tradition of military excellence in the present. The nation’s strong military tradition was particularly

⁴² Trail, 150.

⁴³ “Antietam Battlefield Gen. McClellan’s Reception in Western Maryland and His Oration.”

⁴⁴ Trail, 126.

⁴⁵ “United Memorial Day,” *Washington Post*, 31 May 1910, 4. The resurgence of secret societies and fraternal organizations such as the Masons and the Knights of Pythias after the Civil War resulted from the chaos and anxiety of late nineteenth century society. These lodges counteracted the confusion of modernity, race relations, and changing gender roles with strict organization regulations and internal hierarchical systems. Scholar Mary Ann Clawson argues that these societies brought together *men* across class lines, securing brotherhood along racial and gendered lines rather than through class distinctions. As highly organized social structures, fraternal lodges presented an optimistic view of mobility and equality—for the Anglo male—in a capitalist nation. Social bonding of the Anglo-European male strengthened his position in a society fraught with uncertainty and changes. Mary Ann Clawson, “Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in the Nineteenth-Century United States,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 27, no. 4 (October 1985): 672-695.

important in 1899, when the United States was in the midst of the Spanish-American War. That year's Decoration Day celebration, organized by the Antietam Post of the G.A.R., included a processional of soldiers' civic organizations and a choir that sang patriotic hymns. Washington, DC's Union Veterans' Union came to the day's events and participated in orations at the Rostrum. High profile speakers included military figures from the past and present who were encouraged to participate by the strong presence of the G.A.R. The *Washington Post* noted that the guests included General Robert Saint George Dyrenforth, General S.R. Strattan, a Commander in the Department of the Potomac, General H.L. Street, General Robert Alton, a former National Commander, and Colonel John Middleton of the National staff. At the end of the ceremony, the audience was led in singing "America."⁴⁶ By 1910, the Decoration Day parade—which, as usual, concluded at the Rostrum—included not only Civil War veterans as part of the G.A.R. but also Spanish-American War veterans. Military cadets from Shepherd College also marched in the procession, and in doing so, represented the continuation of the nation's military traditions.⁴⁷

Despite the active participation of the local G.A.R. post in the cemetery's commemorative events, the War Department intended to control the use of the cemetery for special functions such as Decoration Day. An undated memo from General Daudy [sp] dictates the importance of the Rostrum in controlling local use of the War Department landscape:

Decoration Ceremonies at Antietam (crossed out) National Cemeteries—The tendency of the G.A.R., from year to year has been to assume to itself more and more the control of the cemeteries on Decoration Day. So great were the injuries to the cemeteries resulting from this tendency that in 1883, the Department found it necessary to issue imperative instructions on this subject. These instructions, while they specially provide for aiding and carrying out the purposes of the ceremonies usual on that day, are very explicit in providing and specifying that the Superintendents shall have the same charge and control of the cemeteries on occasion of public ceremonies as at other times, and the Superintendents are informed that they are required to exercise such supervision as may be necessary to insure the least possible injury to the grounds and public property. Under these orders it would seem perfectly proper for the Superintendents to direct that the public exercises shall be held at the Rostrum which has been specially provided for that purpose, and to use such measures as may be necessary to enforce the observance of this order.⁴⁸

Although the G.A.R. encouraged the importance of nationalism and a strong central government, the War Department's memo reiterated its desire to control the National Cemetery and the message that it helped present.

⁴⁶ "U.V.U. at Antietam," *Washington Post*, 31 May 1899, 4.

⁴⁷ "United Memorial Day," *Washington Post*, 31 May 1910, 4.

⁴⁸ Memo, General Daudy [sp] re: "Decoration Ceremonies at Antietam (crossed out) National Cemeteries" (29 May n.d.), Box 5, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

By the end of the century, the presence of a strong, central government was still being promoted from the Rostrum. However, politicians and veterans' groups began to change their view toward the Confederate dead. Despite the continued presence of partisan banter, politicians and veterans promoted reconciliation rather than sectionalism. At the turn of the century, as the United States implemented an expansionist vision, nationalism was an essential part of the nation's foreign policy.⁴⁹ In order to promote national unity, however, causes of the Civil War were pushed aside or ignored. By 1910, it was suggested that Decoration Day be combined with the Confederate Memorial Day. The new Memorial Day would be recognized as a national holiday rather than a sectional one.⁵⁰

After the War Department – Questioning the Necessity of a Rostrum

Reconciliation between North and South remained a prominent theme from the platform of the Rostrum until the end of the War Department era in 1933, and beyond. In 1935, Governor Harry Nice was the orator on Decoration Day. In the midst of the Great Depression, he recognized that the entire country was forced to make sacrifices. However, his speech reminded guests of the heroism and ultimate sacrifice of both soldiers in Blue *and* Gray. He exclaimed, “we bend our knee in homage.”⁵¹ He honored all soldiers for their “belief in the justice and the righteousness of [their] cause”—even if that cause was in support of slavery. Nice intended to perpetuate *all* of the soldiers’ “noble principles.”⁵²

Although orators continued to promote reconciliation in the 1930s and veterans' groups continued to honor their fallen comrades, the centrality of the Rostrum in presenting these messages began to shift. Shortly before the cemetery transfer in 1933, the Knights of Pythias contacted the cemetery requesting permission to use the Rostrum on the evening of June 11th for a memorial service. It was explained that “this service is strictly Memorial for their deceased members some of whom were veterans and are interred here in the cemetery.” Superintendent Clarence Nett saw it perfectly fitting to grant them permission.⁵³ After the transfer from the War Department, the NPS committed itself to repairwork of the structure as part of its Six-Year Plan. The plan explained that “Provision is made for repairs to the rostrum, the two center posts of which should be removed and bracing provided from outside supports. This with necessary

⁴⁹ Mary Abroe, “‘All the Profound Scenes’: Federal Preservation of Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1990,” (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University of Chicago, May 1996), 164.

⁵⁰ “United Memorial Day.”

⁵¹ Associated Press, “War-Dead of Nation Honored in Services at Tri-State Towns,” *Washington Post*, 31 May 1935, 17.

⁵² Ibid. Nice spoke again from the platform of the Rostrum on the 75th Anniversary of the Battle of Antietam. Once again his message was of reconciliation for the benefit of the nation.

⁵³ Letter, Clarence L. Nett to Quartermaster 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore, MD, (15 May 1933), File 680.35 – Antietam, Box 57, Entry 1891, RG 92, NARA II.

repairs to brick work require the sum of \$500. For repainting flagpole and rostrum, estimated cost \$150.”⁵⁴

By the 1940s, the Rostrum’s functionality was called into question. An undated newspaper article reported that the Rostrum was getting “rickety.” It explained:

Officials of Antietam National Cemetery said that the National Park Service is studying the question of what to do about the rostrum. The pergola and some of the other woodwork is reported rotting. No decision has been made yet on whether to repair or to tear down the structure, which has been in use ever since the days when the Grand Army of the Republic used to stage big gatherings there regularly.⁵⁵

Being used less and less each year, officials questioned whether a new rostrum should be built in its place in light of “the existing economy drive in government.”⁵⁶ By 1942, the National Park Service “expected to remove” the Rostrum, indicating that its significance in the cemetery landscape had waned.⁵⁷ Though the Rostrum was not completely torn down, its original design under Quartermaster Meigs had already been severely compromised by the end of the 1930s.⁵⁸ Photo documentation from the 1938 ceremonies show the presence of new brickwork on top of the ground surface of the platform, as well as new pergola beams much simpler in design than the originals. In the 1950s, “a variety of small evergreen trees were planted around the base of the Rostrum, thus breaking the straight lines of its design and providing a less austere setting for the structure.”⁵⁹ By the late sixties, the pergola beams were painted a “natural” brown, rather than their original white.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, “Antietam National Battlefield Site – Program of Employment Stabilization Projects – Six Year Program, Justification Sheet No. 2 – Repairs to Rostrum and Flag Pole – Page 1,” File No. 600-02, Part I – Antietam National Military Parks Lands, Buildings, Roads & Trails Six Year Program, Box 2604—National Park Service Central Classified File - 1933 - 1949, National Battlefield Sites, Antietam 503-601, Record Group 79 - (hereafter Box 2604, RG 79), NARA II.

⁵⁵ Newspaper clipping, n.d., Box – Newspaper Clippings, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ “Quarterly Report of the Antietam National Cemetery for the period ended March 31, 1942,” File No. 207 “Antietam National Cemetery Quarterly Reports,” Box 2699—National Park Service Central Classified File, 1933-49, National Cemeteries, General, Antietam (hereafter Box 2699), RG 79, NARA II.

⁵⁸ Sometime during the 1920s or 1930s—if not earlier—the pergola beams had been replaced with a simpler 20th century design. Keven Walker notes, Cultural Resources Department, Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, MD

⁵⁹ Robert L. Lagemann, Historic Structures Report, Part I on the Rostrum (June 1964), File Folder – Historic Structures Report on the Rostrum – Part I by Archie Franzen, Box – Antietam National Cemetery, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

⁶⁰ Photograph, “Pruning and removing dead trees affected with ‘Maple Wilt’ by the Forestry Crew under Foreman Baker and the CCC camp from Gettysburg,” *Administrative Work* notebook, WPA photograph collection, Antietam

Though Meigs's original design had been considerably compromised over the years, the Rostrum continued to serve as an orators' platform for Memorial Day and anniversary events each year. Although the G.A.R. was officially dissolved in 1956, veterans groups and fraternal organizations continued to participate in commemorative events. The American Legion—an organization developed to serve veterans returning from World War One—replaced the G.A.R. as participants in the cemetery ceremonies. In 1997, at the cemetery's rededication, the Masons took center stage, participating in a "highly symbolic Masonic ritual."⁶¹

Despite the changes, the Rostrum's sustained use reiterated the importance of the structure within the cemetery landscape. In 1964 the Superintendent at Antietam, Harold Lessam, hesitated to classify the Rostrum as an historic structure, because it was not from the time of battle. However, "in the case of the Rostrum we recommend the classification... because the structure was completed in the early, War Department period of Antietam National Cemetery and thus has become traditionally associated with the history of the cemetery."⁶² Routinely set as the focal point and backdrop in postcards and photographs, the Rostrum, in fact, has become a central part of the historic landscape and Antietam's ephemeral mementos. By 2008, the Park Service determined that the structure was a cultural resource not only worthy of documentation but extensive preservation and restoration. With careful research and dedicated staff hours, the NPS went to great lengths to return the Rostrum to its original appearance. New pergola beams were custom made in Washington State, new metal caps were made for the columns, the brickwork platform was removed and replaced with grass turf, and the overgrown trees and bushes surrounding the Rostrum were taken out.⁶³ Although greenery does not currently cover the pergola, the NPS also intends to reincorporate this important feature.⁶⁴ As a result of much effort and consideration, the Antietam Rostrum is one of the few structures that now adhere to Montgomery C. Meigs' standard plans.

II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. General Statement:

National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD Project photographs from 1967 (prior to the restoration work done) shows white painted beams rather than the "natural" wood color. The 1967 photographic evidence indicates that the rostrum underwent major renovations, but it appears that many of the major alterations to the rostrum had already occurred. Photographs, "1966 Rostrum," "1967 Rostrum," Box - *National Cemetery*, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

⁶¹ Clyde Ford, "Antietam Cemetery Rededicated," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 21 September 1997, A1.

⁶² Letter, Harold I. Lessam, Superintendent, Antietam to Regional Director, Northeast Region, Subject: "Classification – Historic Structures: Antietam National Cemetery Rostrum and Correspondents' Arch" (20 July 1964), File Folder – Nat'l Cemetery, Cultural Resources Department, National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, MD

⁶³ Historian tour of Rostrum with Keven Walker and K.C. Kirkman, in charge of Rostrum restoration (22 July 2009).

⁶⁴ It should be noted that despite their desire to reincorporate greenery on the Rostrum pergola, the NPS is not quite sure if this is financially and physically possible. Historian tour of Rostrum (22 July 2009).

1. Architectural character: The rostrum is an open structure of wood pergola on a raised brick platform. It was a standard plan designed by the Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs and built in 1879 to serve as a speaker's platform for special events and ceremonies. Although the structure currently does not support any vines on the pergola, that was part of the original plan.

2. Condition of fabric: Good.

B. Description of Exterior:

1. Overall dimensions: Length – 37 feet, 2 inches. Width – 21 feet, 8 inches. Height – 18 feet, 6 inches. The 12 columns are 17 feet, 6 inches long.

2. Foundations: This structure has a low rubble stone foundation.

3. Walls: The base of the platform consists of red brick with horizontally recessed panels and capped with a dressed stone coping. A belt course of brick just beneath the stone coping consists of brick headers, as do the fourth and sixth courses down. Each panel section is flanked by a raised plinth with vertical recessed panels. Each plinth is located below a column. Simple iron piping runs around the coping, in between the outer pillars of the structure, and serves as a supportive railing.

4. Structural system, framing: The rostrum pergola is supported by 12 square brick columns with metal capitals.⁶⁵ There are three rows of columns running lengthwise on the structure. Each row consists of four columns. The third brick course below the metal cap extends beyond the face of the pillar. At the bottom, five courses project out beyond the face of the pillar forming a base for the column. The bottom three courses of the base project out slightly further than the next two. The pergola is formed by pairs of beams that run across each row of columns (north – south and east – west). These beams have notched ends and are anchored with vertical iron bolts set into the center of each pillar.⁶⁶

5. Staircases: The rostrum is an open air structure accessed via a staircase on the south corner of the east and west elevations. The steps, seven on each staircase, are dressed stone with a brick string for support. The iron railings include a newel consisting of four thin balustrades.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ For a more detailed reference, see the 1965 Historic Structures Report on the Rostrum by Archie W. Franzen. Note, however, that some materials and descriptions have changed since then as a result of the restoration.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that original plans for the rostrum show an iron ball newel cap. Early photographs show this newel cap, as well. It is not quite clear when these were removed. Franzen, 4. See also: photograph, "First Maryland Regiment Band taking part in the 4th annual sacred and patriotic concert, Sept. 12, 1937," *Photographs of Battlefield* notebook, WPA photograph collection, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD

C. Description of Interior:

1. Floor plans: This structure consists of one open, elevated space used for commemorative events as a speakers' platform.
2. Flooring: The flooring of the rostrum currently consists of grass covered earth. In 2008 the grass flooring was restored after having been converted to concrete and brickwork.

D. Site:

1. General Character: The rostrum is located in the northeast corner of the national cemetery. When in use, the speakers tend to face southwest, toward the headstones and the large, center monument. The flagstaff, old lodge, and cemetery gate are located to the west of the rostrum.
2. Walkways and hardscape features: There are no walkways or hardscape features leading up to the rostrum. Instead, it is surrounded by grass.
3. Plantings: Historically, the rostrum has been surrounded by low rising bushes which, at times, have become overgrown. Ivy growing up the columns was a central part of Meigs' original plans. Although there are a number of large trees in the general vicinity, there are no plantings surrounding or located on the rostrum at this time. Pair of faux iron planters can be found at the base of each stairway. These were not part of the original plan and were added with the restoration in 2008.

III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Architectural drawings: Blueprints of this specific version of the standard rostrum can be found in Box 6 of Record Group 92, Entry 576, General Correspondence and Reports Relating to National and Post Cemeteries, 1865-1914 ("Cemetery File"), at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

B. Early views: Most early views of the Rostrum are located in Antietam National Battlefield's library photograph collection in spiral notebooks titled "Admin Work File," "Cemetery," "National Cemetery," "Photos of Battlefields," and "Tours." Dating from the 1930s, these photographs show maintenance work on the structure, its surrounding landscape, and at times, speakers and visitors on Decoration Days and battle anniversaries. Two photos from 1966 and 1967 show the removal of the pergola and a fair portion of the columns.⁶⁸ An additional photograph of the Rostrum is located in a Quartermaster's condition report dated February 3, 1923.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Patricia Hienzelman, "Classified Structure Field Inventory Report" (17 May 1976), File Folder – Antietam National Cemetery, Box – Antietam National Cemetery, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, MD. See also: Photographs – "1966 Rostrum," "1967 Rostrum."

⁶⁹ Condition Report (3 February 1923), File Folder 0-31, Box 2699, RG 79, NARA II.

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Note: See footnotes for a more detailed listing of relevant archival materials from the National Archives, Antietam National Battlefield Library and Cultural Resources Department, as well as newspaper and periodical articles.

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